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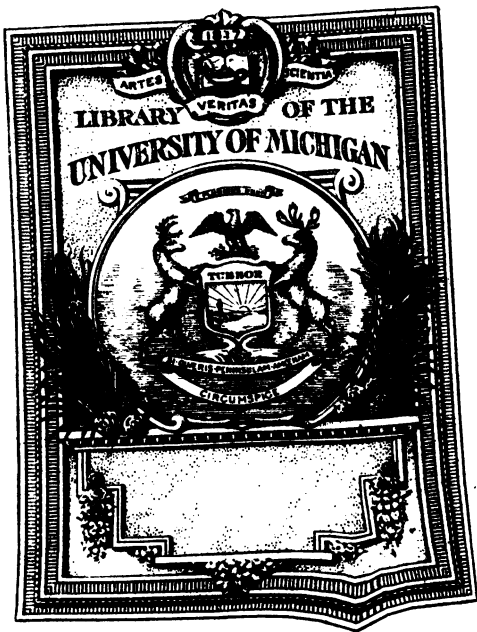
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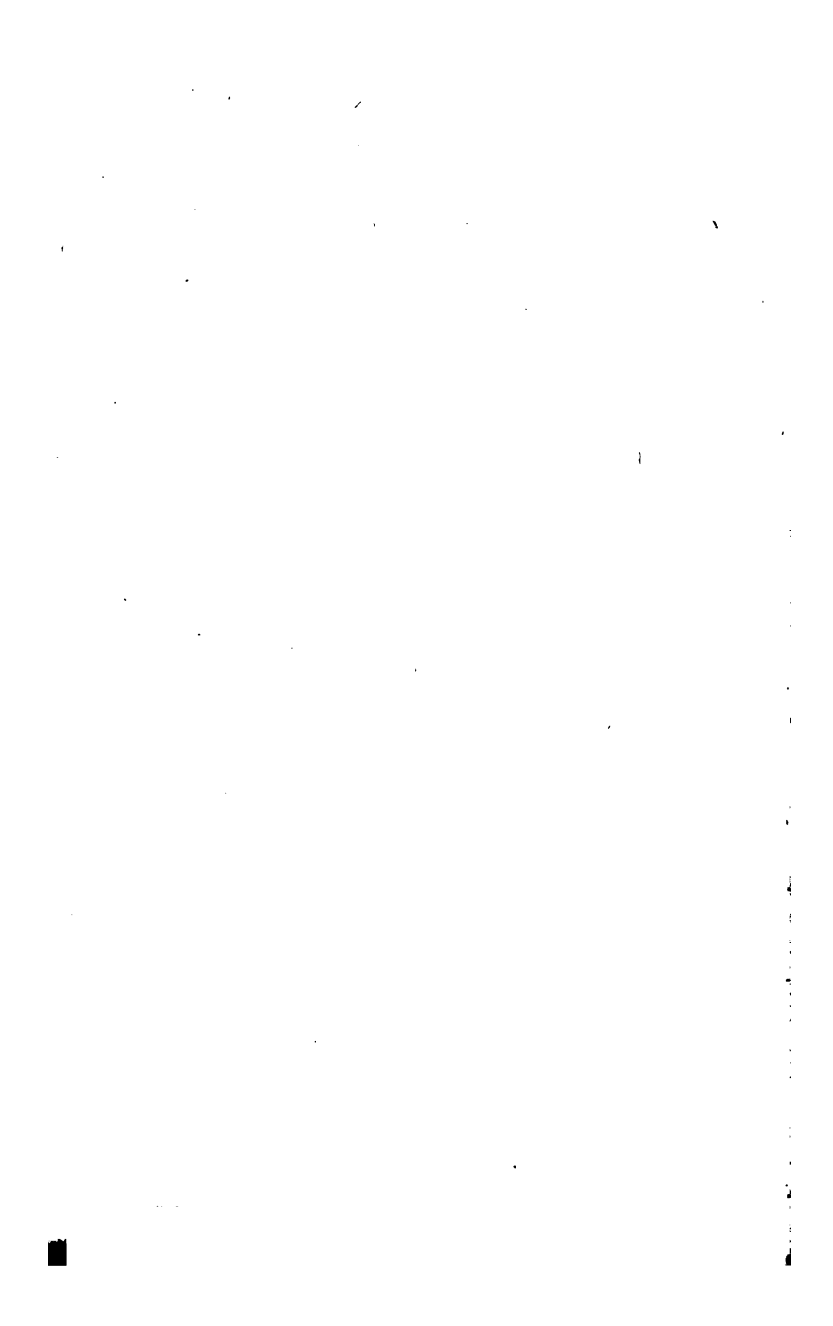


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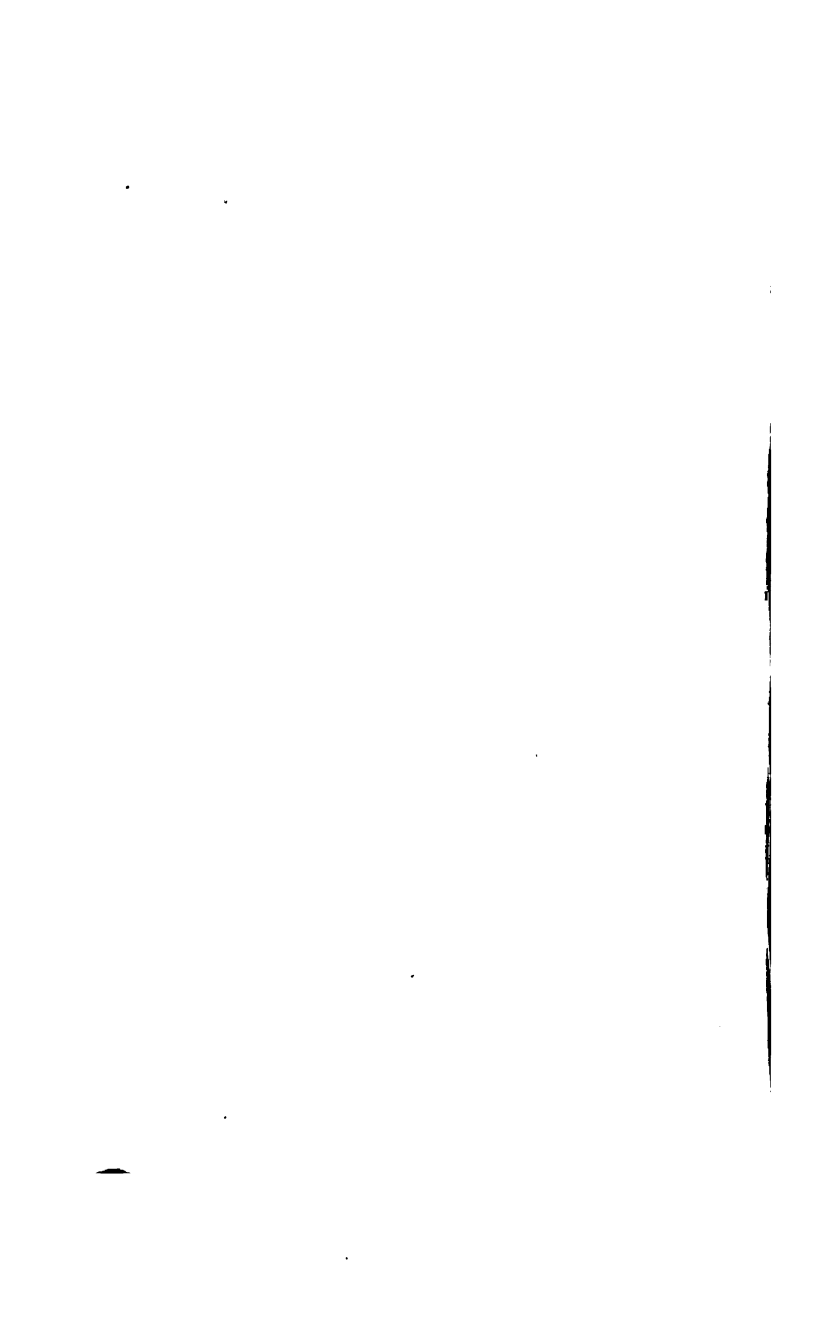
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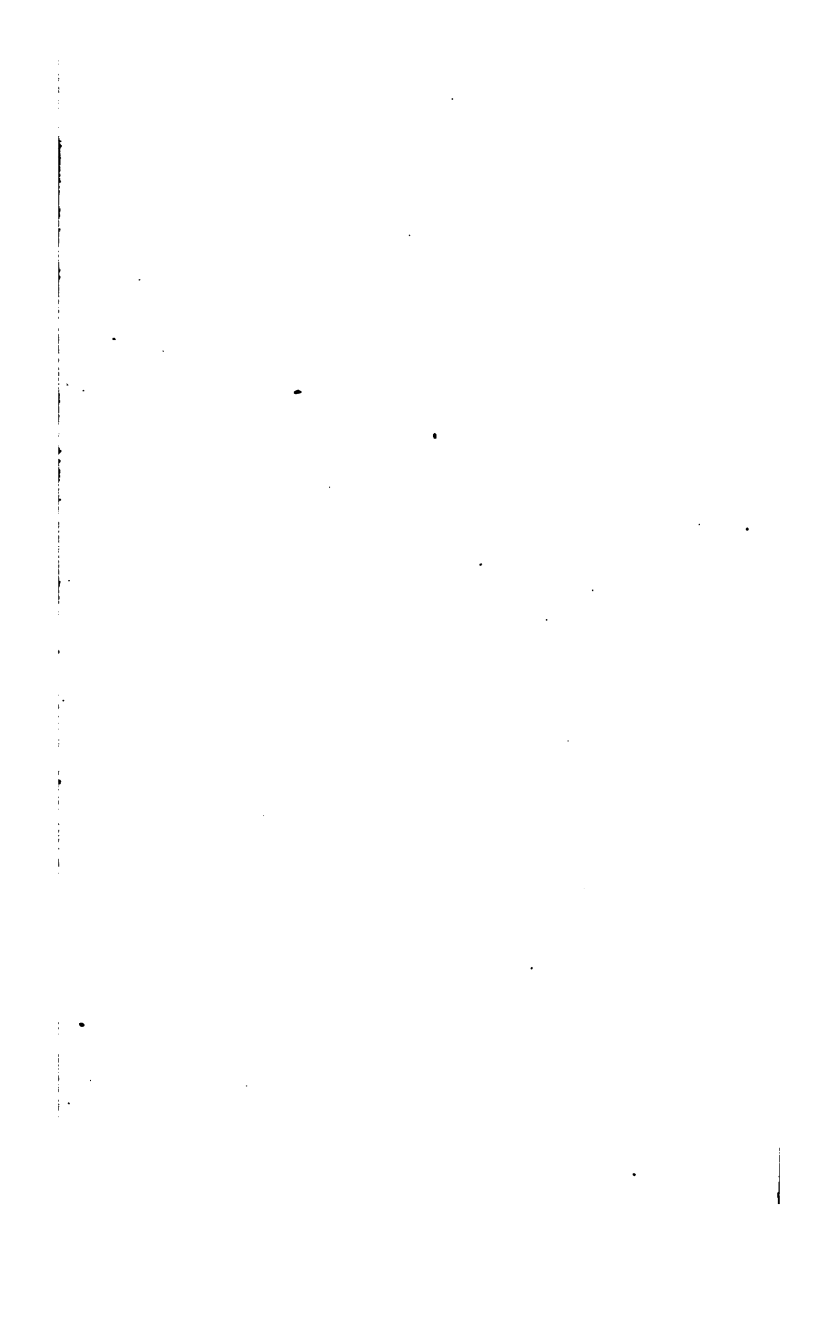
Written by *John Colerus*, Minister
of the Lutheran Church, at the
Hague.

Done out of French.

L O N D O N.

Printed by *D. L.* And Sold by *Benj. Bragg*,
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Amsterdam, where he lived upon the Burgwal, in a good House near the Old Portuguese Synagogue. Besides, his civil and handsome behaviour, his Relations, who lived at ease, and what was left to him by his Father and Mother, prove that his Extraction, as well as his Education, was above that of the Common People. Samuel Carceris, a Portuguese Jew, Married the Youngest of his two Sisters. The Name of the Youngest Miriam, whose Son Daniel Carceris, Nephew to Benedict de Spinoza, declared himself one of his Heirs after his Decease: As it appears by an Act past before Libertus Loeff, a Notary, the 30th of March 1677. in the form of a Procuration directed to Henry Vander Spyck, in whose House Spinoza Lodged when he died.

Spinoza's first Studies.

Spinoza shewed from his Childhood, and in his younger years, that Nature had not been unkind to him. His quick fancy,

and his ready and penetrating Wit were easily perceived. Because he had a great Mind to learn the Latin Tongue, they gave him at first a German Master. But afterwards in order to perfect himself in that Language, he made use of the famous Francis Vanden Ende, who taught it then in Amsterdam, and practis'd Physick at the same time. That Man taught with good Success and a great Reputation; so that the Richest Merchants of that City intrusted him with the instruction of their Children, before they had found out that he taught his Scholars something else besides Latin. For it was discovered at last, that he sowed the first Seeds of Atheism in the Minds of those Young Boys. This is a matter of fact, which I cou'd prove, if there was any necessity for it, by the Testimony of several honest Gentlemen, who are still living, and some of whom have been Elders of the Lutheran Church at Amsterdam. Those good Men bless every day the Memory of

their Parents, who took care in due time to remove them from the School of fo pernicious and fo impious a Maſter.

Vanden Ende had an only Daughter, who underſtood the Latin Tongue, as well as Muſick, fo perfectly, that ſhe was able to teach her Fathers Scholars in his abſence. Spinofa having often occaſion to ſee and ſpeak to her, grew in Love with her, and he has often confeſt that he deſign'd to Marry her. She was none of the moſt Beautiful, but ſhe had a great deal of Wit, a great Capacity and a jovial Humour, which wrought upon the Heart of Spinofa, as well as upon another Scholar of Vanden Ende, whoſe Name was Kerkering, a Native of Hamburgh. The latter did ſoon perceive that he had a Rival, and grew Jealous of him. This moved him to redouble his care, and his attendance upon his Miſtreſs; which he did with good ſucceſs: But a Neck-lace of Pearls, of the value of two or three hundred Piſtoles, which

he had before presented to that Young Woman, did without doubt contribute to win her Affection. She therefore promised to Marry him: Which she did faithfully perform, when the Sieur Kerkering had abjured the Lutheran Religion, which he profest, and embraced the Roman Catholick. See the Preface of Kortholt de tribus Impostoribus, of the 2d Edition.

As for Vanden Ende, being too well known in Holland, to find any Employment there, he was obliged to look for it somewhere else. He went into France, where he had a Tragical end, after he had maintained himself for some years with what he got by practising Physick. Some say that he was Condemn'd to be hanged, and Executed, for having attempted upon the Dauphin's Life; but others, who knew him particularly in France, own indeed that he was hanged, but they give another reason for it. They say, that Vanden Ende endeavour'd to cause an Insurrection in

one of the Provinces of France, the Inhabitants whereof hoped by that means to be restored to their Ancient Priviledges; and that he designed thereby to free the United Provinces from the oppreffion they were under, by giving fo much work to the King of France in his own Country, as to oblige him to keep a great part of his Forces in that Kingdom. That in order to facilitate the Execution of that defign, fome Ships were fitted out, but that they arrived too late. However it be, Vanden Ende was Executed, but if he had attempted upon the Dauphin's Life, 'tis likely that he wou'd have expiated his crime in another manner, and by a more rigorous Punifhment.

*He applies Himfelf to the Study of Divinity,
and then to Natural Philofophy.*

Spinofa having learn'd the Latin Tongue well, applied himfelf to the Study of Divinity for fome years. In the mean time

his Wit and Judgment increased every day: So that finding himself more disposed to enquire into Natural Causes, he gave over Divinity, and betook himself altogether to the Study of Natural Philosophy. He did for a long time deliberate about the choice he shou'd make of a Master, whose Writing might serve him a Guide in his design. At last, having light upon the Works of Descartes, he read them greedily; and afterwards he often declared that he had all his Philosophical Knowledge from him. He was charmed with that Maxim of Descartes, Which says, That nothing ought to be admitted as True, but what has been proved by good and solid Reasons. From whence he drew this Consequence that the ridiculous Doctrine and Principles of the Rabbins cou'd not be admitted by a Man of Sense; because they are only built upon the Authority of the Rabbins themselves, and because what they teach, does not proceed from God, as they pretend with-

out any ground for it, and without the least appearance of Reason.

From that time he began to be very much reserved amongst the Jewish Doctors, whom he shunned as much as he cou'd: He was seldom seen in their Synagogues, whither he went only perfunctorily, which exasperated them against him to the highest degree; for they did not doubt but that he woud' d soon leave them, and make himself a Christian. Yet, to speak the truth, he never embraced Christianity, nor received the Holy Baptism: And tho he had frequent Conversations with some learn'd Mennonites, as well as with the most eminent Divines of other Christian Sects, yet he never declared for, nor profest himself to be a Member of any of them.

Francis Halma says, in the Account of Spinosa, which he published in Dutch, that the Jews offered him a Pension a little while before his Desertion, to engage him to remain amongst 'em, and to appear now and then in

their Synagogues. This Spinoza himself affirmed several times to the Sieur Van der Spyck, his Landlord, and to some other Persons; adding, that the Pension, which the Rabbins design'd to give him, amounted to 1000 Florins. But he protested at the same time, that if they had offered him ten times as much, he wou'd not have accepted of it, nor frequented their Assemblies out of such a motive; because he was not a Hypocrite, and minded nothing but Truth. Monsieur Bayle tells us, That he happen'd one day to be assaulted by a Jew, as he was coming out of the Playhouse, who wounded him in the Face with a Knife, and that Spinoza knew that the Jew design'd to kill him, tho his wound was not dangerous. But Spinoza's Landlord and his Wife, who are still living, give me quite another account of it. They had it from Spinoza himself, who did often tell them, that one Evening as he was coming out of the Old Portugese Synagogue, he

saw a Man by him with a Dagger in his Hand; whereupon standing upon his guard, and going backwards, avoided the blow, which reached no farther than his Cloaths. He kept still the Coat that was run thro' with the Dagger, as a Memorial of that event. Afterwards, not thinking himself to be safe at Amsterdam, he resolv'd to retire somewhere else with the first opportunity. Besides, he was desirous to go on with his Studies and Physical Meditations in a quiet Retreat.

He was Excommunicated by the Jews.

He had no sooner left the Communion of the Jews, but they prosecuted him Juridically according to their Ecclesiastical Laws, and Excommunicated him. He himself did very often own that he was Excommunicated by them, and declared, that from that time he broke all Friendship and Correspondence with them. Some Jews of Amsterdam, who knew Spinoza very well, have also confirmed

to me the truth of that fact, adding, that the Sentence of Excommunication was publickly pronounced bij the Old Man Chacham Abuabh, a Rabbin of great Reputation amongst 'em. I have desired in vain the Sons of that old Rabbin to communicate that Sentence to me; they answered me, that they could not find it amongst the Papers of their Father, but I cou'd easily perceive that they had no mind to impart it to me.

I happen'd one day to ask a learned Jew here (at the Hague) what was the form of Interdicting or Excommunicating an Apostate. He answered me, that it might be read in the Writings of Maimonides, and in the Treatise Hileoth Thalmud Thorah, Chap. 7. v. 2. and that it was expresed in a few words. But it is the common opinion of the Interpreters of the Scripture, that there were three sorts of Excommunication among the Antient Jews; tho it be not the opinion of the learned Mr. Selden, who acknowledges but two in his

Treatise de Synedriis veterum Hebræorum l. 1. c. 7. pag. 64. They call'd Niddui the first kind of Excommunication, which they divided into two Branches. First, they separated the guilty Person, and he was prohibited to enter into the Synagogue for a week, after he had received a severe reprimand, and had been earnestly exhorted to repent, and to put himself in a condition of obtaining the forgiveness of his fault. Which if he did not perform, he was allow'd one month longer to think of his duty.

During all that time he was to keep at eight or ten paces distance from every body, and none durst keep Company with him, except those who brought him his Meat and Drink: That Interdiction was call'd the lesser Excommunication. Hofman in his Lexicon Vol. 2. pag. 213. adds, that every Body was forbidden to eat and drink with such a Man, or to wash in the same Bath; yet that he might, if he wou'd, go to the Assemblies

only to hear and instruct himself. But if he happen'd to have a Son born during that Month, he cou'd not be Circumcised: And if the Child happen'd to die, none was permitted to bewail him, or to express any grief for his death. On the contrary, for a mark of an eternal infamy, they covered the place wherein he was buried with a heap of Stones, or they rolled up a huge Stone over it wherewith they covered that place.

Mr. Goeree affirms in his Jewish Antiquities Tom. 1. pag. 641. That no Man was ever punished with a particular Interdiction or Excommunication amongst the Hebrews, and that there was no such thing practised amongst 'em; but most Interpreters of the Holy Scriptures teach the contrary; and few of 'm, either Jew or Christians, will approve of his opinion.

The second kind of Interdiction or Excommunication was call'd Cherem. It was a Banishment from the Synagogue attended

with dreadful Curses, taken most of 'em out of Deuteronomy, Chap. 28. This is the opinion of Dr. Dilherrus, which he explains at large, Tom. 2. Disp. Re. & Philolog. pag. 317. The learn'd Dr. Lightfoot on the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. 5. v. 5. (in the 2d Vol. of his Works, pag. 890.) shew's us that that Interdiction or Banishment was formerly practis'd, when, after the term of thirty days was expired, the guilty person did not appear to acknowledge his fault: And this was, in his opinion, the second Branch of the lesser Interdiction or Excommunication. The Curses inserted into it were taken from the Law of Moses, and pronounced in a solemn manner against the guilty person, before the Jews, in one of their publick Assemblies. They lighted then some Wax Candles that burnt all the time they were reading the Sentence of Excommunication; which being ended, the Rabbin put out the Wax Candles, to signify hereby that the unhappy Man

was given over to his reprobate Mind, and altogether deprived of the Divine Light. After such an Interdiction, the guilty Person was not permitted to go to the Assemblies, nor so much as to hear and instruct himself. Nevertheless, he was allowed another Month, and even two or three Months, in hopes that he wou'd be reclaimed, and ask the forgiveness of his faults: But when he resolved not to do it, they did at last thunder the third and last Excommunication against him.

This third kind of Excommunication they call'd Schammatha. It was an Interdiction or a Banishment from their Assemblies or Synagogues, without any hopes of being admitted into them again. This they call'd also, with a particular Name, their Great Anathema, or Banishment. When the Rabbins publish'd it in their Assemblies, they used in former times to blow the Horn, that they might fill the Minds of the People with a greater terror. By virtue of such an Excom-

munication the Criminal was deprived of all Humane assistance, and of the Grace and Mercy of God; he was given over to the most severe Judgments of the Almighty, and delivered up for ever to an unavoidable Ruin and Condemnation. Many are of opinion that this is the same Excommunication with that mentioned in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. 16. v. 22. where the Apostle calls it Maranatha. These are the words: If any Man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maharam Motha, or, Maranatha; that is, let him be made Anathema, or let him be Excommunicated for ever, or, as others explain it, the Lord is a coming. viz, to judge and punish that Excommunicated Person. The Jews pretend that the Blessed Enoch is the Author of that Excommunication, that they have it from him, and that it was transmitted to them by a certain and undeniable Tradition.

As for the reasons of Excommunicating a Man, the Jewish Doctors alledge two princi-

pal Reasons for it, according to Dr. Lightfoot the abovementioned place; viz. debts, or upon the account of a loose and Epicurean Life.

A Man was Excommunicated for Debts, when being Condemn'd by the Judge to pay them, he refused to satisfy his Creditors. He was likewise Excommunicated for living a Licentious and Epicurean Life; when he was convinc'd of being a Blasphemer, an Idolater a Breaker of the Sabbath, and a Deserter from Religion, and the Service of God. For in the Treatise of the Talmud-Sanhedrin fol. 99. An Epicurean is defined a Man, who despises the word of God, and the Precepts of Wise Men, who laughs at them, and uses his Tongue only to speak wicked things against the Divine Majesty.

They granted no delay to such a Man. He incurred the Excommunication, which was immediately thundered against him. At first, he was named and summoned to appear the first day of the week by the Door-keeper of the

Synagogue. And because he commonly refused to appear, he who had cited him made his report thereof publicly in these words: I have by Order of the Director of the School cited N. N. who has not answered the Summons, and will not appear.

Then they proceeded to write down the Sentence of Excommunication, which was afterwards notified to the Criminal, and served as an Act of Interdiction or Banishment, and every body was permitted to get a Copy thereof for his Money. But if he happen'd to appear, and did notwithstanding obstinately persist in his Sentiments, his Excommunication was only pronounc'd to him by word of Mouth, and they that were present used to revile him and point at him.

Besides those two causes of Excommunication, the learned Dr. Lightfoot, in the above-cited place, mentions twenty four more taken out of the Writings of the Antient Jews; but what he says upon that subject wou'd

carry us too far, and is too long to be inserted here.

Lastly, As to the Form which they used in their Sentences of Excommunication published by word of Mouth, or set down in Writing, Mr. Selden in the place I have already quoted, pag. 59. tells us what it was, and he took it out of the Writings of Maimonides. First of all they declar'd the Crime of the Person, that was accused, or what had been the occasion of his being prosecuted; to which they added afterwards the following Curfes, exprest in few words. Let the Man N. N. be Excommunicated with the Excommunication Niddui, Cherem or Schammatha; let him be separated from amongst us.

I have often endeavoured to get some of the forms used by the Jews in such Excommunications; but it was in vain; I cou'd never find any Jew that cou'd or wou'd impart any of 'em to me. But at last, the learned Mr. Surenhusius, Professor of the Eastern Languages in

the Illustrious School of Amsterdam, and who has a perfect Knowledge of the Customs and Writings of the ordinary and general Excommunication, which they use, to separate from their Body all those, who live an ill-Life and disobey the Law. It is taken out of the Ceremonial of the Jews call'd Colbo, and I had it from him Translated into Latin. But it may be read in Mr. Selden's Treatise de Jure Naturæ & Gentium, l. 4. c. 7. pag. 524. We have thought fit to Translate and insert it in this place, for the satisfaction of the Reader.

*The Form of the General Excommunication
used amongst the Jews.*

According to what has been decreed in the Council of Angels, and definitively determined in the Assembly of the Saints, we Reject, Banish and declare to be Cursed and Excommunicated, agreeably to the Will of God and of his Church, by virtue of the

fix hundred and thirteen Precepts contrained therein. We pronounce the fame Interdiction used by Jofhua with respect to the City of Jericho; the fame Curfe wherewith Elifha Curfed thofe wanton and insolent Children, as well as his Servant Gehafi; the fame Anathema used by Barak, with respect to Meros; the fame Excommunication used Antiently by the Members of the Great Council, and which Jehuda the Son of Ezekiel did likewise thunder againft his Servant, as it is observed in the Gemara under the title Keduschim, pag. 70. Laftly, without excepting any of the Curfes, Anathema's, Intedictions and Excommunications, which have been fulminated from the time of Moses our Law-giver, to this present day, we pronounce them all in the name of Achthariel, who is also call'd Jah, the Lord of Hosts; in the name of the great Prince Michael; in the name of Sardaliphon, whose ordinary Employment confifts in presenting. Flowers and Garlands

to his Master, that is, in Offering the Prayers of the Children of Israel before the Throne of God; lastly, in that name which contains forty two Letters, viz.

In the name of him, who appeared to Moses in the Bush. In that name by which Moses open'd and divided the Waters of the Red Sea; in the name of him, who said, I am that I am, and who shall be; by the Mysterious Depths of the great name of God **JEHOVA**; by his Holy Commandments engraved upon the two Tables of the Law; lastly, in the name of the Lord God of Hosts, who sits above the Cherubims: in the name of the Globes, Wheels and Mysterious Beasts which Ezekiel saw; in the name of all the Holy Angels, who stand before the Most High, being always ready to execute his Orders; we Excommunicate all, and every one of the Children of Israel, Sons and Daughters, who does in any manner whatsoever voluntarily transgress even one of the

Commandments of the Church, which ought to be kept Religiously and with the greatest respect. Let him be Curfed by the Lord God of Israel, who fits above the Cherubims, whose holy and dreadful Name was pronounced by the high Priest in the great day of Propitiation. Let him be curfed in Heaven and on Earth, by the very mouth of the Almighty God. Let him be curfed in the Name of the great Prince Michael, in the Name of the Metatteron, whose Name is like that of his Master. (The Letters of the word Metatteron make up the same number with the word Schadai the Almighty, viz. Three hundred and fourteen.) Let him be curfed in the Name of Achartiel Jah, who presides over Battels from the Lord; in the the Name of those holy Beasts and mysterious Wheels; let him be curfed by the very mouth of the Seraphims, lastly, let him be curfed in the Name of those Ministring Angels, who are always present before God,

to serve him in all Purity and Holiness.

Was he born in Nisan, (March) a Month, the direction whereof is assigned to Uriel, and to the Angels of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Uriel, and by the mouth of the Angels whereof he is the Head.

Was he born in Ijar, (April) a Month, the direction whereof is assigned to the Angel Zephaniel, and to the Angels of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Zephaniel, and by the mouth of all the Angels whereof he is the Head.

Was he born in the Month of Sivan, (May) the direction whereof belongs to the Angel call'd Amniel? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Amniel, and by the mouth of all the Angels of his Company.

Was he born in Thamnus, (June) a Month, the direction whereof is assigned to the Angel Peniel? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Peniel and be the mouth of the Angels whereof he is the Head.

Was he born in the Month of Abh, (July) a Month, the direction whereof is assigned to the Angel Barkiel, and to those of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of the Angels whereof he is the Head.

Was he born in the Month call'd Elul, (August) the direction whereof is assigned to the Angel Periel, and to the Angels of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Periel, and by the mouth of all the Angels whereof he is the Head.

Was he born in Tifri, (September) a Month the direction whereof is committed to Zuriel, and to the Angels of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Zuriel, and by the mouth of all the Angels of whom he is the Head.

Was he born in the Month call'd Marchefeh, (October) the direction whereof is committed to Zachariel, and to the Augels of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Zachariel, and bij the mouth of all

the Angels of whom he is the Head.

Was he born in Hifleu, (November) a Month, the Direction whereof is assigned to the Angel Adoniel, and to those of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Adoniel, and by the mouth of the Angels of whom he is the Head.

Was he born in Tevat, (December) a Month, the direction whereof is committed to the Angel Anael, and to the Angels of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Anael, and by the mouth of the Angels of whom he is the Head.

Was he born in Schevat, (January) a Month, the direction whereof is assigned to the Angel Gabriel, and to those of his Company? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Gabriel, and by the mouth of the Angels of whom he is the Head.

Was he born in Adar, (February) a Month, the direction whereof is assigned to the Angel Rumiél, and to those of his Com-

pany? Let him be cursed by the mouth of Rumiël, and by the mouth of all the Angels of whom he is the Head.

Let him be cursed by the mouth of the Seven Angels who preside over the seven days of the Week, and by the mouth of all the Angels, who follow them, and fight under their Banners. Let him be cursed by the mouth of the four Seasons of the Year, and by the mouth of all the Angels who follow them, and fight under their Banners. Let him be cursed by the mouth of the seven Principalities. Let him be cursed by the mouth of the Prince of the Law, whose Name is Crown and Seal. In a word, let him be cursed by the Mouth of the Strong, Powerful and Dreadful God. We beseech the great God to confound such a Man, and to hasten the day of his fall and destruction. May God, the God of Spirits, depress him under all Flesh, extirpate, destroy, exterminate and annihilate him. The secret Judg-

ments of the Lord, the most contagious Storms and Winds will fall upon the heads of Impious Men; the exterminating Angels will fall upon them. Wich way soever the impious Man turn, he will never find any thing but Contradiction, Obstacles and Curfes. His Soul at his death will forsake his Body, being deliver'd up to the quickest sence of Fear, Horror and Anguifh. It will be then impossible for him to avoid the blow of Death, and the judgments of God. God sends the sharpest and the most violent Evils upon him. Let him perish by the Sword, by a hot Fever, by a Consumption, being dry'd up with Fire within, and cover'd with Leprosie and Imposthumes without. Let God pursue him till he be altogether destroyed and exterminated. The impious Man's Breast shall be pierced through with his own Sword; his Bow shall be broken he will be like the Straw, which is scattered by the Wind. The Angel of the Lord will pursue him in darkness, in

slippery places, where the Paths and Issues of the Wicked are. His destruction will fall out, when he expects it least. He will find himself taken in the snare, which he had laid in private. Being driven from the face of the Earth, he'll go from light to eternal darkness. Oppression and Anguish will seize upon him on every side. His Eyes shall see his condemnation. He'll drink the cup of the indignation of the Lord, whose Curses will cover him as his own Garments. The Earth shall swallow him up. God will exterminate him and shut him for ever out of his House. Let God never forgive him his Sins. Let the wrath and indignation of the Lord surround him, and smother for ever upon his Head. Let all the Curses contained in the Book of the Law fall upon him. Let God blot him out of his Book; let God separate him to his own destruction from all the tribes of Israel, and give him for his lot all the Curses contained in the Book of the Law.

As for you, who are still living, serve the Lord your God, who blessed Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, the Prophets of Israel, and so many good Men dispersed amongst the Gentiles. May it please the great God to shower his Blessings upon this holy Assembly, and upon the other holy Assemblies, and the Members thereof. God keep them all under his holy protection, (except that Man only, who transgresses our present Declaration.) God preserve them in his great mercy, and deliver 'em from all sorts of misery and oppression. God grant them all a great many years; let him bless and prosper all their undertakings. Lastly, May the great God grant them shortly the great Deliverance, which they expect with all Israel; and thus let his good will and pleasure be fulfilled. Amen.

Spinosa having openly separated himself from the Jews, whose Doctors he had exasperated before, by contradicting them, and

by discovering their ridiculous Impostures; 'tis no wonder if they traduced him as a Blasphemer, an Enemy to the Law of God, and an Apostate, who had left them only to throw himself into the Arms of the Infidels: And there is no doubt, but that they fulminated the most terrible Excommunication against him. Which has been confirmed to me, by a learned Jew, who assured me that in case Spinosa had been Excommunicated, the Anathema Schammatha had been certainly pronounced against him. But Spinosa being not present at that Ceremony, his Sentence of Excommunication was written down, and a Copy thereof was brought to him. He protested against that Excommunication and made an Answer to it in Spanish, which was directed to the Rabbins: and which they received, as I shall shew hereafter.

Spinosa learns a Trade or a Mechanical Art.

The Law and the antient Jewish Doctors do expressly say, that it is not enough

for a Man to be learned, but that he ought besides to learn a Profession or a Mechanical Art, that it may be a help to him in case of necessity, and that he may get wherewith to maintain himself. This Rabbin Gamaliel does positively say in the Treatise of the Talmuel Pirke avoth Chap. 2. where he teaches, that the study of the Law is a very desirable thing, when it is attended with a Profession or a Mechanical Art: For, says he, a continual application to those two exercises keeps a Man from doing Evil, and makes him forget it; and every Learned Man who neglects to learn a Profession, will at last turn a loose Man. And Rabbi Jehuda adds, that every Man, who does not take care that his Children shou'd learn a Trade, does the same thing as if he taught them how to become High-way-men.

Spinoza being well versed in the Study of the Law, and of the Customs of the Ancients, was not ignorant of those Maxims, and did

Not forget them, tho he was separated from the Jews, and excommunicated by them. Because they are wise and reasonable Maxims he made a good use of 'em, and learned a mechanical Art before he embraced a quiet and a retir'd Life, as he was resolv'd to do. He learned therefore to make Glasses for Telescopes, and for some other uses, and succeeded so well therein, that People came to him from all Parts to buy them; which did sufficiently afford him wherewith to live and maintain himself. A considerable number of those Glasses, which he had polished, were found in his Cabinet after his death, and sold pretty dear, as it appears by the Register of the Publick Cryer, who was present at the Sale of his Goods. After he had perfected himself in that Art, he aply'd himself to Drawing which he learn'd of himself, and he cou'd draw a Head very well with Ink, or with a Coal. I have in my Hands a whole Book of such Draughts, amongst which there

are some Heads of several considerable Persons who were known to him, or who had occasion to visit him. Among those Draughts I find in the 4th Sheet a Fisherman having only his Shirt on, with a Net on his Right Shoulder, whose Attitude is very much like that of Massanello the famous Head of the Rebels of Naples, as it appears by History, and by his Cuts. Which gives me occasion to add, that Mr. Vander Spyck, at whose House Spinosa lodged when he died, has assured me, that the Draught of that Fisherman did perfectly resemble Spinosa, and that he had certainly drawn himself. I need not mention the considerable Persons, whose Heads are likewise to be found in this Book, amongst his other Draughts.

Thus he was able to maintain himself with the work of his Hands, and to mind his Study, as he design'd to do. So that having no occasion to stay longer in Amsterdam, he left it, and took Lodgings in the House of one of his Acquaintance, who lived upon the

Road from Amsterdam to Auwerkerke. He spent his time there in studying, and working his Glasses. When they were polished, his Friends took care to send for them, to sell 'em, and to remit his Money to him.

He went to live at Rynsburg, afterwards at Voorburg, and at last at the Hague.

In the year 1664 Spinoza left that place, and retired to Rynsburg near Leyden, where he spent all the Winter, and then he went to Voorburg, a league from the Hague, as he himself says, in his 30th Letter written to Peter Ralling. He lived there, as I am informed, three or four years; during which time, he got a great many Friends at the Hague, who were all distinguished by their Quality, or by Civil and Military Employments. They were often in his Company, and took a great delight in hearing him discourse. It was at their request that he settl'd himself at the Hague at last, where he boarded at

first upon the Veerkaay, at a Widow's, whose Name was Van Velden, in the same House where I lodge at present. The Room where in I study, at the further end of the House backward, two pair of Stairs, is the same where he lay, and where he did work and study. He wou'd very often have his Meat brought into that Room, where he kept sometimes two or three days, without seeing any Body. But being sensible that he spent a little too much for his Boarding, he took a Room upon the Pavilioengracht, behind my House, at Mr Henry Vander Spyck's, whom I have often mention'd, where he took care to furnish himself with Meat and Drink, and where he lived a very retired Life, according to his fancy.

He was very Sober, and very Frugal.

It is scarce credible how sober and frugal he was all the time. Not that he was reduced to so great a Poverty, as not to be

able to spend more, if he had been willing: he had Friends enough, who offered him their Purfes, and all manner of assistance: But he was naturally very sober, and could be satisfied with little; and he did not care that Peopleshou'd think that he had lived, even but once, at the expense of other Men. What I say about his Sobriety and good Husbandry, may be prov'd by several small Reckonings, which have been found amongst his Papers after his death. It appears by them, that he lived a whole day upon a Milk-soop done with Butter, which amounted to three pence, and upon a Pot of Beer of three half pence. Another day he eat nothing but Gruel done with Raisins and Butter, and that Dish cost him four pence half penny. There are but two half pints of Wine at most for one Month to be found amongst those Reckonings, and tho he was often invited to eat with his Friends, he chose rather to live upon what he had at home, tho it were never so little, than to sit down

at a good Table at the expense of another Man.

Thus he spent the remaining part of his Life in the House of his last Landlord, which was somewhat above five years and a half. Hé was very careful to cast up his Accounts every Quarter; which he did, that he might spend neither more nor less than what he could spend every year. And he would say sometimes to the people of the House, that he was like the Serpent, who forms a Circle with his Tail in his Mouth; to denote that he had nothing left at the years end. He added, that he design'd to lay up no more Money than would be necessary for him to have a decent Burying; and that, as his Parents had left him nothing, so his Heirs and Relations should not expect to get much by his Death.

His Person, and his way of Dressing himself.

As for his Person, his Size, and the Features of his Face, there are still many people at the Hague, who saw and knew him

particularly. He was of a middle size, he had good features in his Face, the Skin somewhat black, black curl'd Hair, long Eyebrows, and of the same Colour, so that one might easily know by his Looks that he was descended from Portuguese Jews. As for his Cloaths, he was very careless of 'em, and they were not better than those of the meanest Citizen. One of the most eminent Councillors of State went to see him, and found him in a very slovenly Morning-Gown, whereupon the Councillor blam'd him for it, and offer'd him another. Spinoza answer'd him, that a Man was never the better for having a finer Gown. To which he added, *It is unreasonable to wrap up things of little or no value in a precious Cover.*

His Manners, his Conversation, and his Uninterestedness.

If he was very frugal in his way of living
 His Conversation was also very sweet and

easy. He knew admirably well how to be master of his Passions: He wa never seen very melancholy, nor very merry. He had the command of his Anger, and if at any time he was uneasy in his mind, it did not appear outwardly; or if he happen'd to express his grief by some gestures, or by some words, he never fail'd to retire immediately, for fear of doing an unbecoming thing. He was besides, very courteous and obliging, he would very often discourse with his Landlady, especially when she lay in, and with the people of the House, when they happen'd to be sick or afflicted; he never fail'd then to comfort 'em, and exhort them to bear with Patience those Evils, which God assigned to them as a lot. He put the Children in mind of going often to Church, and taught them to be obedient and dutiful to their Parents. When the people of the House came from Church, he wou'd often ask them what they had learn'd, and what they cou'd remember of

the Sermon. He had a great esteem for Dr. Cordes, my Predecessor; who was a learned and good natured Man, and of an exemplary Life, which gave occasion to Spinoza to praise him very often. Nay, he went sometimes to hear him preach, and he esteem'd particularly his learned way of explaining the Scripture, and the solid applications he made of it. He advis'd at the same time his Landlord and the People of the House, not to miss any Sermon of so excellent a Preacher.

It happen'd one day, that his Landlady ask'd him, whether he beleived, she cou'd be saved in the Religion she profess'd: He answer'd, *Your Religion is a good one, you need not look for another, nor doubt that you may be saved in it, provided, whilst you apply yourself to Piety, you live at the same time a peaceable and quiet Life.*

When he staid at home, he was troublesome to no Body; he spent the greatest part of his time quietly in his own Chamber.

When he happen'd to be tired by having applied himself too much to his Philosophical Meditations, he went down Stairs to refresh himself, and discoursed with the people of the House about any thing, that might afford Matter for an ordinary Conversation, and even about trifles. He also took Pleasure in smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco; or, when he had a mind to divert himself somewhat longer, he look'd for some Spiders, and made 'em fight together, or he threw some Flies into the Cobweb, and was so well pleas'd with that Battel, that he wou'd sometimes break into laughter. He observed also, with a Microscope, the different parts of the smallest Insects, from whence he drew such Consequences as seem'd to him to agree best with his Discoveries.

He was no lover of Money, as I have said, and he was very well contented to live from Hand to Mouth. Simon de Vries of Amsterdam who expresses a great love for him, in the 26th Letter, and calls him his most faithful

Friend, Amice integerime, presented him one day, with a sum of two thousand Florins, to enable him to live a more easie Life; but Spinosa, in the presence of his Landlord, desired to be excused from accepting that Money, under pretence that he wanted nothing, and that if he received so much Money, it wou'd infallibly divert him from his studies and Occupations.

The same Simon de Vries being like to die, and having no Wife nor Children, design'd to make him his general Heir; but Spinosa wou'd never consent to it, and told him, that he shoud'd not think to leave his Estate to any Body but to his Brother, who lived at Schiedam, seeing he was his nearest Relation, and natural Heir.

This was executed, as he propos'd it; but it was upon condition, that the Brother and Heir of Simon de Vries shoud pay to Spinosa a sufficient Annuity for his maintenance; and that Clause was likewise faithfully executed.

But that which is particular, is, that an Annuity of 500 Florins was offered to Spinoza by virtue of that Clause, which he would not accept, because he found it too considerable, so that he reduc'd it to 300 Florins. That Annuity was regularly paid him during his Life; and the same de Vries of Schiedam took care after his death to pay to Mr. Van der Spyck what Spinoza owed him, as it appears by the Letter of John Rieuwertz, Printer at Amsterdam, who was employed in that Affair. It is dated the 6th of March 1678, and directed to Van der Spyck himself.

Another instance of the Uninterestedness of Spinoza, is what past after the death of his Father. His Father's Succession was to be divided between him and his Sisters, to which they were condemned in Law, tho they had left no Stone unturn'd to exclude him from it. Yet instead of dividing that Succession, he gave them his share, and kept only for himself a good Bed, with its furniture.

He was known to several Persons of great Consideration.

Spinosa had no sooner published some of his Works, but he grew very famous in the World, amongst the most considerable Persons, who look'd upon him as a Man of a noble Genius, and a great Philosopher. Monsieur Stoupe, Lieutenant-Collonel of a Regiment of Swissers, in the Service of the King of France, commanded in the City of Utrecht in 1673; he had been before Minister of the Walloon Church, in London, during the Civil Wars of England in Cromwel's time; he was made afterwards a Brigadier, and was killed at the Battel of Steenkirke. Whilst he was at Utrecht, he writ a Book entituled, *The Religion of the Dutch*, wherein he upbraids the Reformed Divines, amongst other things, for neglecting to confute or answer a Book, which was published under their Eyes, in the year 1670, entituled,

Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, whereof Spinoza owned himself to be the Author, in his 19th Letter. This is what Monsieur Stoupe says. But the famous Braunius, Professor of the University of Groningen, shewed the contrary in his Answer to Monsieur Stoupe's Book: And indeed so many Books published against that abominable Treatise, do evidently shew that Monsieur Stoupe was mistaken. At that very time he writ several Letters to Spinoza, from whom he received several Answers; and at last he desired him to repair to Utrecht at a certain time. Monsieur Stoupe was so much the more desirous that he shou'd come thither, because the Prince of Condé, who took then possession of the Government of Utrecht, had a great mind to discourse with Spinoza: And it was confidently reported that his Highness was so well disposed to recommend him to the King, that he hoped to obtain easily a Pension for him, provided he wou'd be willing to dedicate one of his

Books to his Majesty. He received that Letter with a Passport, and set out from the Hague a little while after he had received it. Francis Halma says, in his Dutch Account of Spinosa, that he paid a Visit to the Prince of Conde with whom he had several Conversations for several days, and with some other Persons of note, particularly with Lieutenant Colonel Stoupe. But Vander Spyck and his Wife, in whose House he did lodge, and who are still living, have assured me, that he told them positively at his return, that he cou'd not see the Prince of Conde, because he set out from Utrecht some days before he arrived there. But that in the discourse he had with Monsieur Stoupe that Officer had assured him, that he wou'd willingly use his Interest for him, and that he should not doubt to obtain a Pension † from the King's Liberality, at

† The King of France gave at that thime Pensions to all learned Men, especially to the Strangers, who presented or dedicated some Books to him.

his recommendation. Spinofa added that, because he did not design to dedicate any Book to the King of France, he had refused the offer that was made him, with all the civility he was capable of.

After his return, the Mob at the Hague were extreamly incens'd against him, they look'd upon him as a Spy, and whisper'd in one anothers Ears, that they ought to kill so dangerous a Man, who treated, without doubt, of State affairs, keeping so publick a Correspondence with the Enemies. Spinofa's Landlord was alarm'd at it, and was afraid, not without reason, that the Mob wou'd break into the House, and perhaps plunder it, and then drag Spinofa out of it: But Spinofa put him in heart again, and remov'd his fears as well as he could. Fear nothing, said he to him, upon my account, I can easily justify my self: There are People enough, and even some of the most considerable Persons of the State, who know very

well what put me upon that Journey. But however, as soon as the Mob make the least noise at your Door, I'll go and meet 'm, tho' they were to treat me, as they treated poor Messieurs de Witt. I am a good Republican, and I always aimed at the Glory and Welfare of the State.

In that same year Charles Lewis, Elector Palatine, of glorious Memory, being informed of the capacity of that great Philosopher, was desirous that he shou'd come to Heydelberg to teach Philosophy there, knowing nothing, without doubt, of the Venom concealed in his Breast, and which was more openly manifested afterwards. His Electoral Highness ordered the famous Dr. Fabritius, Professor of Divinity, a good Philosopher, and one of his Councillors, to propose it to Spinoza. He offered him in the Prince's Name, with that Professorship, a full Liberty of Reasoning according to his Principles, as he shou'd think fit, cum amplissima Philosophandi

libertate. But that Offer was attended with a Condition, which Spinoza did not like at all. For tho the Liberty granted to him was never so great, yet he was not allowed in any manner whatsoever to make use of it, to the prejudice of the Religion established by the Laws: As it appears by Dr. Fabricius's Letter dated from Heydelberg the 16th of February. See Spinoza's Opera Posthuma Epist. 53. pag. 561. He is honoured in that Letter, with the Title of most Acute and most Famous Philosopher, Philosophæ acutissime ac celeberrime.

This was a Mine, to which he easily gave Vent, if I may be allowed to use such an Expression: He perceived the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of reasoning according to his Principles, without advancing any thing that shou'd be contrary to the established Religion. He return'd an Answer to Dr. Fabricius the 30th of March 1673, and refused civilly the Professorship that was offered

him. He told him that The instruction of young Men wou'd prove an Obstacle to his own studies, and that he never had the thoughts of embracing such a Profession. But this was a meer pretence, and he does plainly enough discover his inward thoughts by the following words. „Besides (says he to the „Doctor) I consider that you don't tell me „within what bounds that liberty of Philo- „phizing must be confined, that I may not „publicly disturb the established Religion. *Cogito deinde me nescire quibus limitibus libertas illa Philosophandi intercludi debeat, ne videar publice Stabilitam Religionem perturbare velle.* See his *Posthumous Works.* pag. 563 Epist. 54.

His Writings, and his Opinions.

As for his Works, there are some, which are ascribed to him, but it is not certain that he is the Author of 'em: Some are lost or not to be found, others are Printed and exposed to every Body's view.

Monfieur Bayle tells us in his Historical and Critical Dictionary, that Spinofa writ an Apology in Spanifh for his leaving the Synagogue; but that it was never Printed. He adds, that Spinofa inferted feveral things in it, which were found afterwards in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*: But I have not been able to hear any thing concerning that Apology; tho in my enquiries about it I have confulted fome Perfons, who were familiarly acquainted with him, and who are alive ftill.

He publifhed in the year 1664. Defcartes's Principles of Philofophy Geometrically demonftrated: *Renati Defcartes principiorum Philofophæ pars prima & fecunda more Geometrico demonftratæ*; which were foon followed by his *Metaphyfical Meditations, Cogitata Metaphyfica*: And had he gone no farther, he might have preferved to this day, the deferved Reputation of a Wife and Learned Philofopher. In the year 1665 there came out a little

Book in Twelves entituled, Lucii Antiftii Constantis de Jure Eccleſiaſticorum. Alethopoli apud Caium Valerium pennatum. The Author of that Book endeavours to prove that the Spiritual and Political Right, which the Clergy aſcribe to themſelves, and which is aſcribed to them by others, does not belong to them in the leaſt; that Clergy-men abuſe it in a Profane manner, and that all their Authority depends upon that of the Magiſtrates or Sovereigns, who are in the place of God, in the Cities and Commonwealths wherein the Clergy have eſta bliſhed themſelves: And therefore, that the Eccleſiaſticks ought not to take upon themſelves to teach their own Religion, but that which the Magiſtrates order 'em to Preach. All that Doctrine is built upon the Principles, which Hobbes made uſe of in his Leviathan.

Monſieur Bayle tells us, that the Style Principles and Deſign of Antiftius's Book were like that of Spinofa, which is entituled,

Tractatus Theologico-Politicus; but this does not prove that Spinoza was Author of it. Tho' the first Book came out just at the same time that Spinoza began to write his; and tho' the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* was published soon after; yet it is not a proof neither, that the one was the fore-runner of the other. It may very well be, that two Men will undertake to write and advance the same impious things; and tho' their Writings shou'd come out much about the same time, it cou'd not be inferred from thence, that they were written by one and the same Author. Spinoza himself being ask'd by a Person of great Consideration, whether he was the Author of the first Treatise, denied it positively; I have it from very good Hands. The Latin of those two Books, the Style, and the Expressions are not so like neither, as 'tis pretended: The former expresses himself with a profound respect when he speaks of God; he calls him often *Deum ter*

optimum Maximum. But I find no such Expressions in any part of the Writings of Spinoza.

Several Learned Men have assured me, that the impious Book Printed in 1666 in Quarto, and entituled, *The Holy Scripture explained by Philosophy: Philosophia Sacrae Scripturae interpretis*, and the abovementioned Treatise were both written by one and the same Author, viz. L. M. and tho the thing seems to me very likely, yet I leave it to the judgment of those who may be better informed.

It was in the year 1670 that Spinoza published his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. He who translated it into Dutch, thought fit to entitle it, *The judicious and political Divine; De Regtzenninge Theologant, of Godgeleerde Staatskunde*. Spinoza does plainly say, that he is the Author of it in his 19th Letter, directed to Mr Oldenburgh: He desires him in that same Letter, to send him the Objections,

which Learned Men raised against his Book; for he design'd then to get it Reprinted, and to add some Remarks to it. If we believe the Title Page of that Book, it was Printed at Hamburg, by Henry Conrad. But it is certain, that the Magistrates, and the Reverend Ministers of Hamburg had never permitted, that so many impious things shou'd have been Printed and publickly sold in their City.

There is no doubt but that Book was Printed at Amsterdam by Christopher Conrad. Being sent for to Amsterdam in 1679 for some Business, Conrad himself brought me some Copies of that Treatise, and presented me with them, not knowing that it was a very pernicious Book.

The Dutch Translator was also pleased to honour the City of Bremen with so noble a Production: as if his Translation had come from the Press of Hans Jurgel Vander Weyl, in the year 1694. But what is said of those Impressions of Bremen and Hamburg is equally

false; and they would have met with the same difficulties in either of those Towns, if they had undertaken to Print and Publish such Books therein. Philopater, whom we have already mentioned, does openly say in the continuation of his Life, pag. 231, that old John-Hendrikzen, Glasemaker, whom I knew very well, was the Translator of that Book; and he assures us at the same time, that he had likewise Translated into Dutch the Posthumous Works of Spinoza, Published in 1677. He values and extols so much that Treatise of Spinoza, that one would think the World never saw the like. The Author, or at least the Printer, of the continuation of Philopater's Life, *Aard Wolsgryk*, heretofore a Bookseller at Amstetdam, in the corner of Rosmaryn-Steeg, was punish'd for his Insolence, as he deserv'd, and confin'd to the House of Correction, to which he was condemn'd for some years. I wish, with all my heart. he may have repented of his fault during the stay he

made in that place; I hope he came out of it with a better mind, and that he was in such a disposition, when I saw him here (at the Hague) last Summer, whither he came to be paid for some Books, which he had Printed heretofore, and deliver'd to the Book-fellers of this Town.

To return to Spinoza and his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, I shall say what I think of it, after I have set down the judgment, which two famous Authors made of it, one whereof was of the Confession of Ausburg, and the other Reformed. The first is Spitzelius, who speaks of it thus, in his Treatise entituled *Infelix Literator* p. 363. „That „impious Author (Spinoza) blinded by a „prodigious presumption, was so impudent „and so full of Impiety, as to maintain that „Prophecies were only grounded upon the „fancy of the Prophets; and that the Prophets „and the Apostles wrote naturally according „to their own light and knowledge, without

„any Revelation or Order from God : That
 „they accommodated Religion, as well as they
 „cou'd, to the Genius of those who lived at
 „that time, and established it upon such
 „Principles as were then well known, and com-
 „monly received. Irreligiōssimus Author stu-
 penda sui fidentia plane fascinatus, eo progres-
 sus impudentiæ & impietatis fuit, ut propheta-
 m dependisse dixerit a fallaci imaginatione
 prophetarum, eosque pariter ac Apostolos non
 ex Revelatione & Divino mandato Scripsisse,
 sed tantum ex ipsorummet naturali iudicio;
 accommodavisse insuper Religionem, quo ad
 fieri potuit, hominum sui temporis ingenio;
 illamque fundamentis tum temporis maxime
 notis & acceptis super ædificasse. Spinoza pre-
 tends in his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,
 that the same Method may and ought to be
 observed still for explaining the Holy Scrip-
 ture; for he maintains, amongst other things,
 that, as the Scripture, when it was first pu-
 blished, was fitted to the established opinions,

and to the capacity of the People, so every Body is free to expound it according to his Knowledge, and to make it agree with his own opinions.

If this was true, good Lord! What respect cou'd we have for the Scripture? How cou'd we maintain that it is Divinely inspired? That it is a sure and firm Prophecy; that the holy Men, who are the Authors of it, spoke and wrote by God's order, and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; that the same Scripture is most certainly true, and that it gives a certain Testimony of its Truth to our Consciences; and lastly, that it is a Judge, whose Decisions ought to be the constant and unvariable Rule of our Thoughts, of our Faith, and of our Lives. If what Spinoza affirms were true, one might indeed very well say, that the Bible is a Wax-Nose, which may be turned and shaped at one's will; a Glass, thro' which every Body may exactly see what pleases his fancy; a Fool's Cap, which may be turned and fitted at one's

pleasure a hundred several ways. The Lord confound thee, Satan, and stop thy mouth!

Spitzelius is not contented to say what he thinks of that pernicious Book; but he adds to the judgment he made of it, that of Mr. de Manseveld heretofore Professor at Utrecht, who speaks of it thus, in a Book Printed at Amsterdam, in 1674. My opinion is, that that Treatise ought to be buried for ever in an æternal oblivion: *Tractatum hunc ad aternas damnandum tenebras, &c.* Which is very judiciously said; seeing that Wicked Book does altogether overthrow the Christian Religion, by depriving the Sacred Writings of the Authority, on which it is solely grounded and established.

The second Testimony I shall produce is, that of Mr. William van Blyenburg of Dordrecht, who kept a long correspondence with Spinoza, and who in his 31st Letter to him, (See Spinoza's Posthumous Works pag. 476) says, speaking of himself, that he had embraced no

Profession, and that he lived by an honest Trade, *Liber sum nulli adstrictus professioni, honestis mercaturis me alo.* That Merchant, who is a learned Man, in the Preface of a Book entituled, *The truth of the Christian Religion*, Printed at Leyden, in 1674, gives his judgment about the Treatise of Spinoza in these words. It is a Book, says he, full of curious, but abominable discoveries, the Learning and inquiries whereof must needs have been fetched from Hell. Every Christian, nay, every Man of Sense, ought to abhor such a Book. The Author endeavours to overthrow the Christian Religion, and baffle all our hopes, which are grounded upon it: In the room whereof he introduces Atheism, or at most, a Natural Religion forged according to the humour or interests of the Sovereigns. The wicked shall be restrained only by the fear of Punishment; but a Man of Conscience, who neither fears the Executioner nor the Laws, may attempt any thing to satisfy himself, &c.

I muſt add, that I have read that Book of Spinofa with application from the beginning to the end; but I proteſt at the ſame time before God, that I have found no ſolid arguments in it, nor any thing that cou'd ſhake, in the leaſt, my belief of the Goſpel. Inſtead of ſolid reaſons, it contains meer ſuppoſitions, and what we call in the School, petitiones principii. The things which the Author advances, are given for Proofs, which being denied and rejected, the remaining part of his Treatiſe will be found to contain nothing but Lies and Blaſphemies. Did he think that the World wou'd believe him blindly upon his word, and that he was not obliged to give good reaſons and good proofs for what he advanced?

Laſtly, ſeveral Writings, which Spinofa left after his death were Printed in 1677, in which year he alſo died. They are called his Poſthumous Works, Opera Poſthuma. Theſe three Letters B. D. S. are to be found in

the Title of the Book, which contains five several Works. The first, is a Treatise of Morals demonstrated Geometrically, *Ethica more Geometrico demonstrata*. The second, is about Politicks. The third, treats of the Understanding, and of the means of rectifying it, *De emendatione Intellectus*. The fourth, is a Collection of Letters, and Answers to them, *Epistolæ & Responsiones*. The fifth, is an Abridgement of the Hebrew Grammar, *Compendium Grammatices Linguæ Hebrææ*. The Printer's name and the place wherein that Book was Printed, are not mention'd in the Title-page; which shews that the Person who published it, did not care to be known. But Mr Vander Spyck, Spinoza's Landlord, who is alive still, tells me that Spinoza ordered that immediately after his death, his Desk, which contained his Letters and Papers, shou'd be sent to John Rieuwertzen, a Printer at Amsterdam: Which Vander Spyck dit not fail to perform according to his Will. And

John Rieuwertzen acknowledged that he had received that Desk, as it appears by his Answer dated from Amsterdam the 25th of March, 1677. He adds towards the latter part of his Letter, that The Relations of Spinosa wou'd fain know to whom it was directed, because they fancied that is was full of Money, and that they wou'd not fail to enquire about it of the Waterman, who had been intrusted with it. But, says he, if the Packets, that are sent hither by water, are not registred at the Hague, I dcn't see how they can be informed about it, and indeed it is better they shou'd know nothing of it, &c. He ends his Letter with those words, and it does clearly appear by that Letter, to whom we are beholden for so abominable a Production.

Several Learned Men have already sufficiently discovered the impious Doctrines contained in those Posthumous Works, and have given notice to every Body to beware

of 'em. I shall only add some few things to what has been said by them. The Treatise of **Morals** begins with some Definitions or Descriptions of the Deity. Who would not think at first, considering so fine a beginning, that he is reading a Christian Philosopher? All those Definitions are fine, especially the sixth, wherein Spinoza says, that God is an infinite Being; that is, a Substance, which contains in it self an infinity of Attributes, every one whereof represents and expresses an Eternal and infinite Substance. But when we enquire more narrowly into his Opinions, we find that the God of Spinoza is a meer Phantom, an imaginary God, who is nothing less than God. And therefore the words of the Apostle Tit. 1. 16. concerning impious Men, may be very well applied to that Philosopher: They profess that they know God, but in Works they deny him. What David says of ungodly Men Psalm 14. 1. does likewise suit him: The Fool has said in his Heart, there is no God

This is the true Opinion of Spinosa, whatever he might say. He takes the liberty to use the word God, and to take it in a sense unknown to all Christians. This he confesses himself in his 21st Letter to Mr. Oldenburg: I acknowledge, says he, that I have a notion of God and Nature, very different from that of the Modern Christians. I believe that God is the Immanent, and not the Transient Cause of all things: *Deum rerum omnium Causam immanentem, non vero transeuntem statuo.* And to confirm his Opinion, he alledges these Words of St. Paul; In him we live, and move and have our Being. Act. 17. 28.

In order to understand him, we must consider that a Transient Cause is, that the Productions whereof are external, or out of it self; as a Man, who throws a Stone into the Air, or a Carpenter, who builds a House: Whereas the Immanent Cause acts inwardly, and is confined without acting outwardly. Thus when a Man's Soul thinks of, or desires

something, it is or remains in that thought or desire, without going out of it, and is the immanent Cause thereof. In the same manner, the God of Spinoza is the Cause of the Universe wherein he is, and he is not beyond it. But because the Universe has some bounds, it wou'd follow that God is a limited and finite Being. And tho he says that God is infinite, and comprehends an infinity of Perfections; he must needs play with the words Eternal and Infinite, seeing he cannot understand by them a Being, which did subsist before Time was, and before any other Being was created, but he calls that infinite, wherein the Humane Understanding can neither find and End, nor any Bounds: For he thinks the Productions of God are so numerous, that Man, with all the strength of his Mind, cannot conceive any Bounds in them. Besides, they are so solid, and so well settled and connected one with another, that they shall last for ever.

Nevertheless, he says, in his 21st Letter, that they were in the wrong, who charged him with asserting that God and Matter, wherein God Acts, are but one and the same thing. But after all, he can't forbear confessing, that Matter is a thing essential to the Deity, who is and works only in Matter, that is, in the Universe. The God of Spinoza is therefore nothing else but Nature, infinite, but yet corporeal and material, taken in general, and with all its Modifications. For he supposes that there are two Eternal Properties in God, cogitatio & extensio, Thinking and Extension: By the first of those Properties, God is contain'd in the Universe; by the second, he is the Universe itself, and both joyn'd together make up what he calls God.

As far as I am able to understand Spinoza, the dispute between us Christians and him runs upon this, viz. Whether the true God be an Eternal Substance, different and distinct

from the Universe, and from the whole Nature, and whether by a free Act of his Will he produc'd the World, and all Creatures out of nothing; or whether the Universe, and all the Beings it comprehends, do essentially belong to the Nature of God, being consider'd as a Substance, whose Thought and Extension are infinite? Spinoza maintains the last proposition. The *Antispinoza* of L. Wittichius, pag. 18. and seq. may be consulted. Thus he owns indeed, that God is the General Cause of all things; but he pretends, that God produces 'em necessarily without freedom and choice, and without consulting his Will. In like manner, every thing that happens in the World, Good or Evil, Virtue or Vice, Sin or good Works, does necessarily proceed from him: and consequently there ought to be no Judgment, no Punishment, no Resurrection, no Salvation, no Damnation. For if it were so, that imaginary God wou'd Punish and Reward his own Work,

as a Child does his Baby. Is it not the most pernicious Atheism that ever was seen in the world? And therefore Mr Burmanus, a Reformed Minister at Enkhuysen calls Spinoza, with great Reason, the most impious Atheist, that ever liv'd upon the Face of the Earth.

I don't design to examine here all the impious and absur'd Doctrines of Spinoza; I have mention'd some of the most important, only to inspire the Christian Reader with the aversion and horror he ought to have for such pernicious Opinions. But I must not forget to say, that it does plainly appear by the second part of his Ethicks, that he makes the Soul and Body but one Being, the Properties whereof are, as he expresses it, Thinking and Extension; for he explains himself in that Manner pag. 40. „When I speak of „the Body, I mean only a Mode, which „expresses the Essence of God in a certain „and precise manner, as he is considered under

„the notion of an extended thing.” Per Corpus intelligo modum qui Dei essentiam, quatenus ut res extensa consideratur, certo & determinato modo exprimit. As for the Soul, which is and acts in the Body, it is only another Modification or manner of being, produced by Nature, or manifested by Thought: It is not a Spirit, or a particular Substance no more than the Body, but a Modification, which expresses the Essence of God, as he manifests himself, Acts and Works by Thought. Did ever any Body hear any such abominations among Christians! At that rate God cou’d neither Punish the Soul nor the Body, unless he would Punish and Destroy himself. Towards the latter part of his 21st Letter, he overthrows the great Mystery of Godliness, as we find it expressed 1. Tim. 3.16. by maintaining, that the Incarnation of the Son of God is nothing else but the Eternal Wisdom, which having appeared in all things, particularly in our Hearts and Souls, was at

last manifested in an extraordinary manner in Jesus Christ: He says a little lower, that some Churches indeed add to it, that God made himself a Man; but says he, I have declared in express terms, that I don't know what they mean by it. *Quod quædam Ecclesiæ his addant, quod Deus naturam humanam assumpserit, monui expresse me quid dicant nescire, &c.* He goes on, and says, That Doctrine seems to me to be as strange, as if any one shou'd teach that a Circle has taken the nature of a Triangle or of a Square. Which gives him occasion towards the latter part of his 23d Letter, to explain the famous Passage of St. John: The Word was made Flesh. Chap. I. 14. by a way of speaking very common amongst the Eastern Nations, and to render it thus, God has manifested himself in Jesus Christ, in a most particular manner.

I have shewn plainly, and in a few words, in my Sermon, how in his 23d and 24th

Letters, he endeavours to destroy the Mystery of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, which is a Capital Doctrine amongst us, and the ground of our Hopes and Comfort. I need not spend more time in setting down the other impious Doctrines, which he teaches.

*Some Writings of Spinoza, which have
not been Printed.*

He, who took care to publish the Posthumous Works of Spinoza, reckons amongst the Writings of that Author, which have not been Printed, a Treatise concerning the Rain-Bow. I know some Men of great note in this Town, (at the Hague) who have seen and read that Treatise; but they did not advise Spinoza to publish it: Which perhaps gave him resolve to burn it half a year before he died, as I have been informed by the people of the House, where he lived. He had also begun a Translation of the Old

Testament into Dutch, about which, he often discoursed with some Men learned in the Languages, and enquired into the Explications which the Christians give to several Passages. He had finished the five Books of Moses, a great while ago, when some few days before he died he burnt the whole Work in his Chamber.

Several Authors confute his Works.

His Works were scarce published, but God raised to his Glory, and for the defence of the Christian Religion, several Champions who confuted them with all the Success they cou'd hope for. Dr. Theoph. Spitzelius names two of 'em in his Book entituled, *Infelix Literator*, viz. Francis Kuyper of Rotterdam, whose Book Printed in the year 1676, is, entituled *Arcana Atheismi revelata*, &c. The profound Misteries of Atheism discovered. The second is, Regnier de Mansveld Professor, at Utrecht, who in the

year 1674 Printed in the same place a Book upon the same Subject.

The next year 1675, a Confutation of the same Treatise of Spinoza, entituled *Enervatio Tractatus Theologico-Politici*, came out of the Press of Isaac Næranus: It was written by John Bredenburg, whose Father had been Elder of the Lutheran Church at Rotterdam. George Mathias Konig was pleas'd in his *Bibliotheque of ancient and modern Authors*, pag. 770, to call him a certain Weaver of Rotterdam, *Textorem quendam Rotterodamensem*. If he exercis'd such a Mechanical Art, I am sure that no Man of his Profession did ever shew so much ability, or produced such a Work; for he does Geometrically demonstrate in that Book, and in a clear and unanswerable manner, that Nature neither is, nor can be God himself, as Spinoza pretends. Being not very well skill'd in the Latin Tongue, he was oblig'd to write his Book in Dutch, and to make use of another Man's

hand to Translate it into Latin. Which he did, as he himself says in the Preface to his Book, to the end, that Spinoza, who was still alive, might have no excuse or pretence, in case he made no reply to it.

Nevertheless, I don't find that all the Arguments of that Learned man are convincing. Besides, he seems to incline to Socinianism in some parts of his Book. This is at least the judgment I make of it, and I believe it does not differ in that respect from the judgment of knowing Men, to whom I leave the decision of it. However, it is certain that Francis Kuyper and Bredenburg published several Writings one against another, and that Kuyper in his accusations against his Adversary, pretended to no less than to convince him of Atheism.

In the year 1676, Lambert Veldhuis of Utrecht, published a Book, entituled *Tractatus Moralis de Naturali pudore, & dignitate hominis*. He overthrows, in that Treatise,

the Principles whereby Spinoſa pretends to prove, that all the Good or Evil, which Men do, is produc'd by a Superior and neceſſary operation of God or Nature. I have already mention'd William Van Bleyenburch, a Merchant of Dordrecht, who enter'd into the Liſt in the year 1674, and refuted the impious Book of Spinoſa, entitul'd, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. I cannot forbear comparing him with the Merchant, whom our Saviour ſpeaks of, Mat. XIII. 45,46. Seeing he does not preſent us with worldly and perifhable Riches, by the publiſhing of his Book, but with a Treafure of an infinite value, and which ſhall never perifh. It were to be wiſh'd, that there were many ſuch Merchants upon the Exchanges of Amſterdam and Rotterdam.

Our Divines of the Confefſion of Augſburg have alſo diſtinguiſht themſelves amongſt thoſe, who have refuted the impious Doctrine of Spinoſa. His *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* was ſcarce come out, but they took Pen in

hand and wrote against him. We may name first Dr. Musæus, Professor of Divinity, at Jena, a Man of a great Genius, and who perhaps had not his like in his Time. During the Life of Spinoza, viz. in the year 1704, he publish'd a Dissertation of twelve Sheets, entitul'd *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus ad Veritatis Lumen examinatus*. The Theological „and Political Treatise examin'd by the Light „of Reason and Truth. He declares, pag. 2. 3. his aversion and horror for such an impious Production, and expresses it in these words, *Jure merito quis dubitet, num ex illis, quos ipse Dæmon ad humana divinaque jura pervertenda magno numero conduxit, repertus fuerit, qui in iis depravandis operosior fuerit quam hic Impostor, magno Ecclésiæ malo & Reipublicæ detrimento natus.* „One may very „well doubt, whether, amongst the many Men, „whom the Devil has hir'd to overthrow all „Humane and Divine right, any of 'em has „been more busy about it, than that Impostor,

„who was born to the great Mischief of „Church and State.” He sets down (pag. 5, 6, 7.) with great clearness the Philosophical Expressions of Spinoza, he explains those which are capable of a double sense, and shews in what sense Spinoza made use of ’em, that one may the better understand him. He shews (pag. 16. §. 32.) that when Spinoza published that Book, he design’d to teach that every Man has the right and liberty of fixing his Belief in point of Religion, and of confining it only to such things as are not above his reach, and which he can comprehend. He had already (pag. 14. §. 28) very clearly stated the Question, and shewn wherein Spinoza differs from the Christians; And in the same manner he continues to examine that Treatise of Spinoza, and confutes every part of it with good solid Reasons. There is no doubt but Spinoza himself read that Book of Dr. Musæus, seeing it was found amongst his Papers after his death.

Tho' several Authors writ against the Theological and Political Treatise, as I have already observed; yet none in my Opinion has done it with more Solidity than that Learned Professor; and my judgment of him is confirmed by that of many others. The Author, who, under the Name of Theodorus Securus, published a small Treatise, entituled, *Origo Atheismi*, says in another little Book, entituled, *Prudentia Theologica*. „I do very „much wonder that the Dissertation of Dr. „Musæus shou'd be so scarce, and so little „known here in Holland. That Learned „Divine, who writ upon so important a Subject, shou'd have more justice done him; „for he has certainly had a better Success than „any other.” Mr. Fullerus, (in continuatione *Bibliothecæ Universalis &c.*) expresses himself thus, speaking of Dr. Musæus: „ That „most famous Divine of Jena has refuted the „pernicious Book of Spinoza with his usual „solidity and learning. *Celeberrimus ille Jenen-*

fium Theologus Joh. Mufæus Spinofae pestilentiffium foetum accutiffimis, queis folet, telis confodit.

The fame Author does alfo mention Frederic Rapoltus, Profeflor of Divinity, at Leipfick, who in a Speech which he pronounced when he took Poffeffion of his Profefforfhip, did likewise refute the Doctrine of Spinofa. I have read his Speech, and I find that he has confuted him but indirectly, and without naming him: It is entituled, *Oratio contra Naturaliftas, habita ipfis Kalendis Junii ann. 1670,* and it is to be found in the Theological Works of Rappoltus tom. 1. pag. 1386 and Seq. publifhed by Dr. John Benedict Carpzovius, and Printed at Leipfick in 1692. Dr. J. Conrad Durrius, Profeflor at Altorf, followed the fame Plan in a Speech, which I have not read, but I have heard it highly commended.

Monfieur Aubert de Verfe publifhed in 1681 a Book, entituled, *The impious Man convinced,*

or a Dissertation against Spinoſa, wherein the Grounds of his Atheiſm are confuted. In 1687 Peter Yvon, a Kinsman and a Diſciple of Labadie, and Miniſter of thoſe of his Sect at Wiewerden in Friſeland, writ a Treatiſe againſt Spinoſa which he publiſhed under this Title, Impiety vanquiſhed, &c. In the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, in the Article of Spinoſa, there is a Treatiſe mentioned, entituled, De concordia Rationis & Fidei, written by Monſieur Huet: That Book was Reprinted at Leipſick in 1692, and the Journaliſts of that City gave a good Abstract of it, (ſee Acta Erudit. an. 1695, pag. 395) wherein the Doctrine of Spinoſa is ſet down with great clearneſs, and refuted with great Force and Learning. The Learned Mr. Simon and Mr. de la Motte, Miniſter of the Savoy in London, have both of 'em writ upon the ſame ſubject: I have ſeen the Works of thoſe two Authors, but I don't underſtand French enough to judge of 'em. Mr. Peter Poiret who lives

now at Reinsburg near Leyden, published a Treatise against Spinoza in the second Edition of his Book, De Deo, Anima, & malo: That Treatise is entituled, Fundamenta Atheismi everſa, five ſpecimen abſurditatis Spinoſianæ. It is a Work which very well deſerves to be read with attention.

The laſt Work, I ſhall mention, is that of Mr. Wittichius, Profeſſor at Leyden, which was Printed in 1690, after the death of the Author, with this Title, Chriſtophori Wittichii Profeſſoris Leidenſis *Anti-Spinoſa*, ſive Examen Ethices B. de Spinoſa. It was ſometime after tranſlated into Dutch; and Printed at Amſterdam by Waſbergen. 'Tis no Wonder to ſee that great Man defamed, and his Reputation ſtained after his death, in ſuch a Book as the Continuation of the Life of Philopater. It is ſaid in that Book, that Mr. Wittichius was an excellent Philoſopher, and a great Friend of Spinoſa, that he kept correſpondence and a great many

private Conversations with him; in a word, that they were both of the same Opinion. That Mr. Wittichius writ against the Ethicks of Spinoza, for fear of being reputed a Spinosist, and that his Confutation was Printed after his death only, that he might not lose his Honour, and the Reputation of an Orthodox Christian. These are the calumnies, which that insolent Author has advanced: I don't know from whence he had 'em, nor upon what appearance of truth he can build so many Lies. How came he to know that those two Philosophers kept such strict a Correspondence together, that they saw and writ so often to one another? We don't find any Letter of Spinoza to Wittichius, nor of Wittichius to Spinoza among the Letters of that Author, which have been Printed; and there is none neither among those which remain to be Printed: So that we have all the reason in the World to believe, that this strict Correspondence, and the Letters which they

writ to one another, are a meer fiction of that Calumniator. I confefs, I never had occasion to fpeak to Mr. Wittichius; but I am pretty wel acquainted with Mr. Zimmerman, his Nephew, who is now Minister of the Church of England, and who lived with his Uncle the latter part of his Life. What he told me upon that Subject, is altogether contrary to what has been Publifhed by the Author of Philopater's Life. Nay, he fhew'd me a Writing, which his Uncle had dictated to him, wherein the Opinions of Spinofa are both well explained and confuted. What can one defire more for his justification, than the laft Work which he writ? There we fee what he believed, and there he makes, as it were, a Confeflion of his Faith before he died. Will any Man, that has any fense of Religion, be fo bold as to think and even to publifh, that it was all meer Hypocrify, that he did it only that he might go to Church, and to falve appearances,

and avoid being accounted an Impious Man and a Libertine?

If any such thing could be inferred, when there has been some Correspondence between two Persons; I shou'd not find my self very safe; and few Ministers wou'd be secure from the Tongues of Calumniators, seeing it is sometimes impossible for us to avoid all manner of converse with some Persons, whose Belief is none of the most Orthodox.

I shall willingly mention William Deurhof, of Amsterdam, and I name him with all the distinction he deserves. That Professor has always vigorously assaulted the Opinions of Spinosa in all his Works, but especially in his Lectures of Divinity. Mr. Francis Halma does him justice in his Dutch Account of Spinosa; when he says, that he has refuted the Opinions of that Philosopher with so much solidity, that none of his Partisans durst hitherto vye strength with him. He adds, that that subtil Writer, is able still to con-

fute the calumnies of Philopater's Life, and to stop his mouth.

I fhall fay but one word of two famous Authors, and I'll put 'em together, tho' they are now fet one againft the other. The firft is Mr. Bayle, fo well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, that I need not make his Encomium in this place. The fecond, is Mr. Jaquelot heretofore Minifter of the French Church at the Hague, and now Chaplain to the King of Pruffia. They made both of 'em learned and folid Remarks on the Life, Writings, and Opinions of Spinoza, which have been Tranflated into Dutch by Francis Halma, a Bookfeller at Amfterdam, and a Scholar. He had added to his Tranflation, a Preface, and fome judicious Remarks upon the Continuation of Philopater's Life; which deferve to be read.

There is no need to mention here fome Writers, who have very lately oppofed the Doctrine of Spinoza, upon account of a Book, entituled, Hemel op Aarden, Paradice on

Earth, written by Mr. van Leenhoff, a Reformed Minister of Zwol, wherein 'tis presented that he builds upon the same foundations with Spinoza. Those things are too fresh, and too well known to insist upon 'em: I therefore proceed to mention the Death of that famous Atheist.

Of the last Sickness, and Death of Spinoza.

There has been so many various and false Reports about the Death of Spinoza, that 'tis a wonder how some understanding Men came to acquaint the Publick with it upon Hear-says, without taking care to be better informed of what they published. One may find a Pattern of those falshoods in the *Menagiana*, Printed at Amsterdam in 1695, where the Author expresses himself thus.

„I have been told that Spinoza died of
 „the fear he was in, of being committed to
 „the Bastille. He came into France at the
 „desire of two Persons of Quality, who had

„a mind to see him. Mr. de Pompone had
 „notice of it, and being a Minister, very
 „zealous for Religion, he did not think fit
 „to permit that Spinosa shou'd live in France,
 „where he might do a great deal of Mischief;
 „and in order to prevent it, he resolv'd to
 „send him to the Bastille. Spinosa having had
 „notice of it, made his escape in a Fryar's
 „Habit: but I will not warrant this last
 „Circumstance. That which is certain, is, that
 „I have been told by several people, that he
 „was a little Man, and of a yellowish com-
 „plexion, and that he had an ill Look, and
 „bore a Character of Reprobation in his Face.”

There is not one word of truth in this
 Account; for it is certain, that Spinosa was
 never in France: And tho some Persons of
 great note endeavoured to have him there,
 as he himself confest to his Landlords, yet
 he assured them, at the same time, that he
 hoped he wou'd never be so great a Fool as
 to do such a thing. One may also easily

judge from what I shall say hereafter, that it is altogether false that he died of Fear. Wherefore I shall set down the Circumstances of his Death without partiality, and I shall advance nothing without proving it; which I can the more easily do, because he died, and was buried here at the Hague.

Spinosa was a Man of a very weak Constitution, unhealthy and lean, and had been troubled with a Pthysick above twenty years, which oblig'd him to keep a strict course of Dyet, and to be extreamly sober in his Meat and Drink. Nevertheless, his Landlord, and the people of the House did not believe that he was so near his end, even a little while before he died, and they had not the least thought of it. For the 22d of February, which happen'd to be then the Saturday before the last week of the Carnival, his Landlord and his Wife went to the Sermon which is preach'd in our Church, to dispose every Body to receive the Communion, which

is administred the next day according to a Custom established amongst us. The Landlord being come from Church at four a Clock, or thereabouts, Spinosa went down Stairs, and had a pretty long Conversation with him, which did particularly run upon the Sermon; and having taken a Pipe of Tobacco, he retired into his Chamber, which was forwards, and went to Bed betimes. Upon Sunday Morning before Church-time, he went down Stairs again, and discoursed with his Landlord and his Wife. He had sent for a Physitian from Amsterdam, whose Name I shall only express by these two Letters, *L. M.* That Physitian ordered 'em to boil an old Cock immediately, that Spinosa might take some Broth about noon, which he did, and eat some of the Meat with a good Stomach, when his Landlord and his Wife came from Church. In the afternoon the Physitian *L. M.* staid alone with Spinosa, the people of the House being returned to Church.

But as they were coming from Church, they were very much surprized to hear, that Spinoſa had expired about three a Clock, in the preſence of that Phyſitian, who that very Evening returned to Amſterdam by the Night-boat, without taking any care of the Deceaſed. He was the more willing to diſpenſe himſelf from that Duty, becauſe immediately after the Death of Spinoſa he had taken a Ducatoon and a little Money, which the Deceaſed had left upon the Table, and a Knife with a Silver Handle; and ſo retired with his Booty.

The particularities of his Sickneſs and Death have been variously reported, and have occaſioned ſeveral Conteſtations. 'Tis ſaid, 1^{ſt}, That during his Sickneſs he took the neceſſary Precautions to avoid being viſited by thoſe whoſe Sight wou'd have been troubleſome to him. 2^{dly}, That he ſpoke once, and even ſeveral times theſe words, O God have mercy upon me miſerable Sinner.

3dly, That they heard him often sigh, when he pronounced the Name of God. Which gave occasion to those, who were present, to ask him, whether he believed, at last, the Existence of a God whose judgment he had great Reason to fear after his death? And that he answered'em, that he had dropt that word out of Custom. 'Tis said, 4thly, That he kept by him some Juice of Mandrake ready at hand which he made use of, when he perceived he was a dying, that he drew the Curtains of his Bed afterwards, and then lost his Senses, fell into a profound Sleep, and departed this Life in that manner. 5thly, That he had given exprefs orders to let no Body come into his Room, when he shou'd be near his End: And likewise, that finding he was a dying, he call'd for his Landlady, and desired her to suffer no Minister to come to him; because he was willing to die peaceably and without disputing, &c.

I have carefully enquired into the truth

of all those things, and ask'd several times his Landlord and his Landlady, who are alive still, what they knew of it: But they answered me, at all times, that they knew nothing of it, and were perswaded that all those Circumstances were meer Lies. For he never forbad them to admit any body in his Chamber but the Physitian of Amsterdam, whom I have mentioned. No body heard the words, which 'tis said, he spoke, O God, have mercy upon me miserable Sinner: Nor is it likely that they shou'd come out of his mouth, seeing he did not think that he was so near his Death, and the people of the House had not the least suspicion of it. He did not keep his Bed during his sickness; for the very day that he died, he went down Stairs, as I have observed: He lay forwards in a Bed made according to the fashion of the Country, which they call Bedstead. His Landlady, and the people of the House know nothing of his ordering to send away the

Minifters, that fhould come to fee him, or of his invoking the Name of God during his Sicknefs. Nay, they believe the contrary, becaufe ever fince he began to be in a languifhing condition, he always expreff, in all his fufferings, a truly Stoical conftancy; even fo as to reprove others, when they happened to complain, and to fhew in their Sickneffes little Courage or too great a Senfibility.

Laftly, as for the Juice of Mandrake, which, 'tis faid, he made ufe of when he was a dying, which made him lofe his Senfes; it is alfo a circumftance altogether unknown to the people of the Houfe: And yet they us'd to prepare every thing he wanted for his Meat and Drink, and the Remedies which he took from time to time. Nor is that Drug mention'd in the Apothecary's Bill, who was the fame to whom the Phyfician of Amfterdam fent for the Remedies, which Spinofa wanted the laft days of his Life.

Spinoza being dead, his Landlord took care of his Burial. John Rieuwertz, a Printer at Amsterdam, desired him to do it, and promised him, at the same time, that he shou'd be paid for all the charges he shoud be at, and past his word for it. The Letter which he wrote to him upon that Subject, is dated from Amsterdam the 6th of March 1678: He does not forget to speak of that Friend of Schiedam, whom I have mentioned, who shew how dear and precious the memory of Spinoza was to him, paid exactly to Vander Spyck, all that he cou'd pretend from his late Lodger. The Money was at the same time remitted to him, as Rieuwertz himself had received it by the order of his Friend.

As they were making every thing ready for the Burial of Spinoza, one Schroder, an Apothecary, made a Protestation against it, pretending to be paid for some Medicines wherewith he had furnished the Deceased during his Sickness. His Bill amounted to

sixteen Florins and two pence. I find in it some Tincture of Saffron, some Balsam, some Powders, etc. but there is no Opium nor Mandrake mentioned therein. The Protestation was immediately taken off, and the Bill paid by Mr. Vander Spyck.

The dead Body was carried to the Grave in the New Church upon the Spuy, the 25th of February, being attended by many Illustrious Persons and followed by six Coaches. The Burial being over, the particular Friends or Neighbours, were treated with some Bottles of Wine, according to the custom of the Country, in the House where the Deceased lodged.

I shall observe by the bye, that the Barber of Spinosa brought in after his Death, a Bill express in these words: „Mr Spinosa, „of Blessed Memory, owes to Abraham „Kervel, for having shaved him the last „Quarter, the sum of one Florin and eight „teen pence.” The Man, who invited his

Friends to his Burial, two Ironmongers, and the Mercer, who furnished the Mourning Gloves, made him the same Complement in their Bills.

If they had known what were the Principles of Spinoza in point of Religion; 't is likely that they would not have made use of the word Bleffed: Or perhaps they used that word according to Custom, which permits, sometimes, the abuse of such Expressions, even with respect to those, who die in despair, or in a final Impenitence.

Spinoza being buried, his Landlord caused the Inventory of his Goods to be made. The Notary he made use of, brought in a Bill, in this form: William van Hove, Notary, for having made the Inventory of the Goods and Effects of the late Sieur Benedict de Spinoza. His Bill amounts to seventeen Florins and eight pence, which he acknowledges to have received the 14th of November, 1677.

Rebekah of Spinosa, Sister of the Deceased, declared her self his Heir. But because she refused to pay, in the first place, the charges of the Burial, and some Debts wherewith the Succession was clogged; Mr. Vander Spyck sent to her at Amsterdam, and summoned her to do it, by Robert Schmeding, who carried his Letter of Attorney drawn up and signed by Libertus Loeff the 30th of March, 1677. But, before she paid any thing she had a mind to know, whether the Debts and Charges being paid, she might get something by her Brother's Inheritance. Whilst she was deliberating about it, Vander Spyck was authoriz'd by Law, to make a publick Sale of the Goods in question; which was executed; and the Money arising from the sale being deposited in the usual place, the Sister of Spinosa made an Attachment of it. But perceiving that after the Payment of the Charges and Debts, there wou'd be little or nothing at all left, she

deflected from her pretensions. The Attorney, John Lukkats, who served Vander Spyck in that Affair, brought him a Bill of thirty three Florins and sixteen pence, for which he gave his Receipt the 1st of June, 1678. The Sale of the said Goods was made here (at the Hague) the 4th of November, 1677, by Rykus van Stralen, a sworn Cryer, as it appears by his Account, bearing the same Date.

One needs only cast one's Eyes upon that Account, to perceive that it was the Inventory of a true Philosopher: It contains only some small Books, some Cuts, some pieces of polished Glass, some Instruments to polish them, &c.

It appears likewise, by his Cloaths, how good a Husband he was. A Camlet Cloak, and a pair of Breeches were sold for twenty one Florins and fourteen pence, another grey Cloak, twelve Florins and fourteen pence, four Sheets, six Florins and eight pence, seven Shirts, nine Florins and six pence, one Bed

fiveteen Florins, nineteen Bands, one Florin and eleven pence, five Handkerchiefs, twelve pence, two red Curtains, a Counter-pain, and a little Blanket, six Florins: And all his Plate, consisted of one Pair of Silver-Buckles which were sold, two Florins. The whole Sale of Goods amounted to four hundred Florins and thirteen pence; and the charges of the Sale being deducted, there remained three hundred ninety Florins and fourteen pence.

These are all the particulars I cou'd learn about the Life and Death of Spinoza: He was forty four years, two months and twenty seven days old, when he died; which happen'd the 21st of February, 1677, and he was buried the 25th of the same month.

FINIS.
